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THE BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT LEGEND IN THE ANCIENT GEORGIAN AND ARMENIAN LITERATURES.

BY F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of 19th November, 1895.*)

IN the following pages I have judged it best to begin with the Georgian or earliest Christian form of the story. I have translated such parts of the Georgian text as have been printed in St. Petersburg by Professor Marr, and I have added a translation of what is most important in his Russian monograph on the subject.

In the next place, I publish my translation of the first half, and of the last paragraph, of the old Armenian text of the story.

In conclusion, I discuss the place and importance of these two hitherto little known texts in the history of the growth and diffusion of the saga, as it may be called. I must express my thanks to Mr. W. E. Morfil, of Oxford, for translating to me Professor Marr's monograph, and to Professor Margoliouth for translations of parts of the oldest Arabic text.

The following text of the Georgian version of Barlaam and Josaphat is taken from the work of Professor Marr,

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entitled *Mudrost' Balavara* “gruzinskaja versija duše-poleznoj istorii o Varlaame i Ioasafe”: *Zapiski vostočnago otdeleñija imperatorskago Russkago archeologičeskago obščestva*, tom. iii. str. 223-260.

There was a certain king of the land of India, in a place which they called Bolat, and his name was Iabenes. He was in religion a pagan and an idolator, yet of good conscience, peaceful, modest, and very kind to the poor. And he had no child, wherefore he was very grieved by reason of his childlessness. For he was very rich, and desired to leave an heir over his property. For this reason he would pray to his gods that they would vouchsafe to him offspring; but as for his gods they were impotent to benefit him, and so also was prayer to them made in vain. Albeit God, who desires all men to live, because of his charity which he displayed to the poor, vouchsafed to him a son noble and godly. Therefore Iabenes the king was filled with great joy, and called his name Iodasaph, and said: “This have my gods wrought for me.” And he magnified them all the more, and called together the multitude of astrologers and of philosophers and of magicians, in order that they might inform him what was in store for his son and what was his destiny. But they all spake thus: “This child will attain to a glorious kingdom such as no one has ever yet attained to in this land of India.” But there was one man among them, learned with the wisdom exceeding that of all, and he said to the king: “I thus think, O King, of the greatness to which this child will attain. It is not of this world, but methinks that he will be a great leader of truth.”

But when the king heard these words he was filled with sorrow, and forthwith he resolved on the banishment from his land of all the servants of Christ; and he sent out a herald to proclaim as follows: “Thus saith Iabenes the king, if any of the Christians be found after three days, with the most awful tortures shall they all be exterminated.” But one day the king went out to survey the outside of the city and beheld two men who were servants of God going out of the city, and he said to them: “How were ye so bold as not to leave my land, or did ye not hear what my herald proclaimed?” But they answered: “Lo, even now are we about to go forth.” And he said to them: “Why did ye stay until now?” They answered him: “Because we needed provisions for the road.” The king said to them: “They that are in dread of death, have they not provision for the road?” But they said to him: “If we had feared thee we should have hastened our going; but we have no fear of death, because from death we look for peace.” And the king said: “How say ye this, yet at the same moment through your fear of me are departing from my territory?” They answered: “It is not through fear of death that we now take our departure from thy land, but for the reason that we may not give a pretext to a man who is a murderer and godless. But fear of thee hath in no wise entered our souls.” And he let them go; but he gave orders that if any Christians should be found any more they should be burnt by fire.

Now the King Iabenes had a certain man by name Balavari, and he was

a servant of God, full of faith and of hope in Christ. And he was much loved by the king, because he was full of thought and prudent and a good scribe, and he was more noble than all others in the eyes of the king. But Iabenès knew not that he was a servant of Christ, and paid him honour above all his nobles. This Balavari, one day as he was going along a road, saw a man lying close by who had been wounded by a wild beast ; and the man was crying out, and Balavari said to him : “What is this that has happened to thee, O man, that thou criest out ?” The man told him everything, and said : “I will lay this all before thee. I am a man clever in speech, but I was being eaten by the wild beast and am deprived of my limbs. But if anyone will defend me or beat it off, I will be of use to him in the day of trouble.” But the other did not count words at all, but had pity on the man and ordered his slaves to lift him up in a litter and carry him along with himself to his house, and he commanded the steward to take good care of the man and administer comfort to him.

But Balavari was hated by those who worshipped idols, because they were jealous of the honour which he had at the hands of the king, who preferred him to them. And they came and said to the king : “O king, the man in whom thou reposest confidence is not of thy faith. For if there be found any of these Christian folk, he salutes them graciously, and at this moment he meditates rebellion against thee and to seize upon thy kingdom ; and whomsoever he finds exiles from thy kingdom he hastens to cherish them and treats them honourably.”

And the king said to them : “If this be not so, even as ye declare it to be, then will it be bad for you, and I will hold you responsible.” But he began to prove Balavari. He called that man of God before him and said : “Thou knowest, my friend, how my spirit is allied to, and bound up with, the things of earth, and how my days have been spent. Methinks that I hasten without purpose, and I fear lest my end approach, and I be found empty. Now, therefore, I am resolved that henceforth I will be reconciled with the servants of God, and will strive after immortal life. What then dost thou say, O single-minded one, and like-minded with myself ?” And when the man of God heard this, his mind leaped up and he shed tears and said to him : “Live, O king, for ever. For instead of that which passes, thou hast chosen that which endures and is best. Of this world the glory is nought, and as the shadow it passes away, and as the smoke it disperses. Now, then, execute thy thought, for it is meet that by abandoning this glory which passes, thou shouldst purchase the glory which is eternal.”

And these words were displeasing to the king, and he was filled with fury by reason thereof, but he did not reveal it to the other. Then Balavari be-thought him that a trap was being laid against him because of it. And he was sore afflicted, and remained all that night sleepless. Then he remembered the man who was clever in speech. He called him to him, and said to him : “Thou hast told me that thou healest with thy words them that are wounded.” And the man answered him : “Yea, it is even so. Has then anything happened to thee ?”

But the other said : “ For this long time I have served my king, and have never seen him angry with me ; for I walked in singleness of mind before him. But this day he glanced at me in anger, and methinks there is no peace between him and myself.” And the wounded man said to him : “ And what quarrel has there been between him and thee ? ” But he answered : “ I know nothing, except that he spake to me a single word, and I intimated to him what was best. And methinks that he tempted me with words and will find out everything.” But the wounded man said to him : “ I will heal these words with the grace of Christ and the power of the cross. Know thou that the king harbours an evil suspicion of thee, because he suspects guile from thee, and dreams that by thee his kingdom will be seized. Rise, then, to-morrow, and cut off the hair of thy head ; and take off this raiment of thine and put on mourning, and so repair before him, and if he ask thee : ‘ What is this ? ’ answer him thus : ‘ Behold, for that because of which thou didst summon me yesterday, I am ready, for I do not wish to live without thee, since I share through thee in the good things of thy kingdom. Now it is meet for me also to have a share in the sufferings of this world, and agreeably with thy wishes, I will suffer torture with thee and be thought worthy of eternity with thee.’ ”

And the man did as the sufferer instructed him, so that the suspicion was lifted off the mind of the king, and he was irritated with the accusers of Balavari, but Balavari was radiant with joy. And once more returned the hair of his head, and once more the envy of the princes was aroused against Balavari, and they said to the king : “ O king, if thou lookest into the neck of Balavari, thou wilt see there a cross, which he worships, and our gods are ridiculous in his eyes.” But the king thought that they spake falsehood ; but he laid hold of him, and saw a cross of gold on his breast. Then the king said to him : “ What, O Balavari, is this error of thine ? ” But Balavari answered : “ Ah, O king, I am not in error, for from my childhood have I served Christ and worshipped the cross on which his hands were outstretched for our salvation. But thy service hath never been prejudiced thereby. And now since the name of Christ my God is upon me, I cannot deny his divinity ; even if you cut my body in bits, or burn it with fire, yet I shall commit my spirit into his hands.” The king said to to him : “ Say not so, my beloved Balavari, for thou art a man held in much honour, and supreme before me. But if thou wilt worship my gods, I will give thee yet other cities, and I will empty my magazines upon thee. For thou art very dear before me. But if thou do not so, I will consume thy flesh with mighty torments, nor any more remember thy love to me.”

Then the man of God, Balavari, untied his belt of gold adorned with precious stones, and he laid it before the king and said : “ Even if thou shouldst cover my head with the royal diadem, still by doing me such honour thou couldst not shake my faith in Christ. And although thou consumme my body in torture, thou wilt not confound me. For the blessings of heaven are greater than those of earth, and with them we shall be for ever gratified. But the tortures of hell are very bitter, and with them the adversaries and the

deniers of God shall be punished. I, O king, am ready for earthly tortures ; so delay not, that I may the more quickly depart to my Lord, to rest in peace for ever.” But at these words the king was softened and said : “ Beloved Balavari, how hast thou deprived me of hope by disobeying my orders. Depart from my country, that the knowledge of thee may never reach my ears. If I shall find thee again, I will not be guiltless of thy blood.”

So Balavari abandoned his transitory greatness, and departed unto the Eremites to serve Christ our God.

The Parable of the Man and the Elephant.¹

This present life is like unto a man whom an elephant pursued in fury, and drove him into a well most terrible. And the man saw trees, upon which he held himself up. And he saw two mice, one black and one white, which were gnawing at the roots of the trees, upon which he was raised up. And he looked down into the well and he saw snakes which opened their mouths and desired to devour him. Then he looked up and saw a little honey which kept dropping from the trees. And he began to lick it up, and once more he no longer bethought him of the disaster into which he was fallen.

But the mice ate deep into the trees, and the man fell, and the elephant caught him up and threw him to the serpents. Now, then, O son of the king, the elephant is the image of death, which pursues the sons of men. And the tree is this life, and the mice are days and nights, and the honey is the sweet-ness of this world, and the man is distracted by the taste for this life. Days and nights are fulfilled, and death carries him off; and in hell the serpent devours him. And this is the life of men.

The Anchorite’s Sustenance (Professor Marr, page 32).

Iodasaph said : “ What is the sustenance on which ye live in the wilderness ? ” He answered : “ Off the herbs of the land we subsist ; but when we run short, we accept from our brethren that believe.”

Balavari’s Creed (page 35 of Professor Marr).

There is one God the father, sovereign of all, creator of heaven and of earth, our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father. He is the only creator, but all else is created. He alone is without time, but all others are in time. He alone is powerful, but all they are powerless. He alone is sublime, but all they are low. Everything was made by him, and without him is nothing which was made. For he is good, gracious, and patient, and a lover of mankind ; and there are in store for them that obey him delights, but for the disobedient torments. The same in trinity and unity is glorified.

¹ For the Georgian text, see Marr’s monograph, p. 17.

The Argument from Design (page 22 of Professor Marr).

If you see a vessel which has been made, though you do not see the maker of it, yet you believe that there was a maker. And in the same way when you see a house, though you do not see the builder of it, yet your intelligence assures you that there must be one. Now when I contemplated myself, and examined my composition, I understood that I had a creator, and that, as he liked, so he created me and shaped my form, without having consulted me. If I had been my own maker, I should have made myself with more beauty and completeness. But he who created me made me lower than some and higher than others. And I also understood this, that he would take me out of this life without consulting me. And when I understood this, and realised the facts of our life, viz., that we can neither increase nor diminish our stature, nor renew what has grown old, or can get back again any of our limbs which may fall off, and that neither kings, nor braves, nor sages, nor the mighty ones can do this. And then I saw the coming of night after day, and the courses of the firmament ; and from them I gathered that all things have a creator, and that he is not like his creatures. And if he were like them, then that which happens to his creatures would also happen to him. (I knew) that, as he declares, so a thing happens, and when he decrees anything it is achieved. And he raises again people to life, such as they were from the first. For his command is swifter than a two-edged sword and is higher than glittering lightning. He, if it so please him, annihilates and establishes afresh everything. And blessed and glorious is his name, for ever and ever, Amen.

The Saint's Tomb (page 17 of Marr).

There was close by them a certain man, one of the Anchorites. He came and laid the body along with Balavari; and then went his way into the presence of Barakia the king, and told him of what had happened. But he went off with some of the bishops and priests, he gathered up the holy relics of Iodasaph and Balavari, and conserved them in a golden shrine, and with great honour he decorated the saint. And he built over it a church in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom is glory for ever and ever, Amen. And whosoever come hither with faith, they, even up to the present day, are healed of all their diseases. And we too pray to God that by their prayers we may be rescued from the pains of hell, and may glorify God, to whom is glory and honour and worship now and always and for all eternity, Amen.

The oppressor was overpowered, and the evil serpent struck down by the grace of a single being.

This apocryph is preceded in the Georgian manuscript by the following notice : “ At one time I came into the country of Ethiopia, where in the library of the king of the Indians I found this book in which these deeds are written.”

The title of the book in the Georgian is this: “*The Wisdom of Balavari related (thkmouli) by the father Isaak, son of Sophron of Palestine.*”

The Georgian text is not divided into chapters, but each parable is headed thus: The first word, The second word, &c. At the end of the manuscript from which Professor Marr published his extracts there is written the following notice by the scribe who wrote it. “In 1860, in October, on the sixth day, this book was written out by the Government Secretary Nobleman, Antony, son of Zacharia Dapkiev. The hand of the labourer is turned into dust, yet this work will remain as a treasure.” The manuscript itself is copied from an older one which is still in possession of a Georgian prince, Melitaurov.

In the catalogue prepared by Zagareli of the manuscripts in the Georgian convent on Mount Athos we find the mention of more than one copy of *The Wisdom of Balavari*. The manuscript from which Professor Marr transcribed the extracts which we have translated is plainly a faulty one. For example, in the middle of the parable of the Man pursued by the Elephant some words have been dropped out; for there is in it no mention, as there is both in the Arabic and the Greek text, of the dragon at the bottom of the well. It is much to be desired, therefore, that a more complete Georgian text should be prepared and printed from older manuscripts than the very modern one which Professor Marr employed.

The Georgian text, as has been noted by Marr and also by Professor Hommel, is much nearer to the old Arabic and non-Christian text than it is to the Greek. And Marr has noticed the following points of contrast between it and the Greek. These we transcribe in brief from his valuable monograph; for he had the Georgian text before him, which we only know through his extracts and remarks concerning it.

In the Georgian, then, the Indian king commits the

education of his son from the first to a trusted counsellor, Zandan, who in the Greek only appears later on as Zardan. It is with him that the king's son converses, when, having got permission to visit the city, he meets with men crippled, sick, and old. In the Greek, again, Barlaam is seventy years old when he meets with Josaphat; and he has been in the wilderness forty-five years, having left the world at the age of twenty-five. In the Georgian, on the other hand, Balavari had retired into the desert at the age of forty-two, and had then practised asceticism there for a period of eighteen years. So it is that when he comes before Iodasaph he is a man of sixty. It is only in the Greek and not in the Georgian that we read how Barlaam first baptised Iodasaph and then gave him the Eucharist. In the Georgian, again, the king Iabenes refuses to bring victims to offer to the idols on a heathen festival; whereas according to the Greek he brings for sacrifice one hundred and twenty oxen as well as other animals. In the Georgian we hear nothing about evil spirits, nor about the magical books of the wizard Theudas. According to the Georgian, the king, before he writes to his son about his desire to be baptised, sends ambassadors, and in the end himself sets off to visit his son. In the Greek, however, we hear nothing of these ambassadors; and Josaphat, instead of baptising his father in his own house, repairs to his father's kingdom in order to do it. Again, between the time of Iodasaph's leaving his kingdom and his meeting with Balavari, two years elapsed. During this period of two years, the Georgian tells us nothing about him; whereas in the Greek we get a very particular description of how the royal hermit in this period visited the cottage of a poor man, and of how he practised during the whole of the time the most rigorous asceticism. In the Greek also we have explained to us the way by which Iodasaph found out the cave of Barlaam and got there.

A very important proof of the close connection which there is between the Georgian and the non-Christian Arabic

and Hebrew recensions of the tale is to be drawn from the order in which in it the parables or apologetics follow one another. The Georgian order, which coincides with the order of these two recensions, is as follows: 1. Parable of the Good King, divided into the two stories of the Death Trumpet and of the Four Caskets; 2. Parable of the Sower; 3. Parable of the Man pursued by the Elephant; 4. Parable of the Three Friends; 5. Parable of the Foreign King who came from another Country; 6. Parable of the Heathen King and of his Faithful Counsellor; 7. Parable of the Rich Man, and of the Poor Man's Daughter; 8. Parable of the Man and the Nightingale; 9. Parable of the Roe Deer; 10. Parable of the Young Man who had a Passionate Wife; 11. Parable of the Love of Women.

It is to be noticed that in the Greek version, as also in the Armenian, these parables follow in quite a different order, viz., in the following: 2, 1, 8, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9. The tenth and eleventh parables found in the Georgian are entirely absent not only from the Greek text but from the Arabic and Hebrew recensions. From the two latter the parable of the Roe Deer is also absent, although it is found in the Greek and Armenian forms of the tale. The chronology of the lives of the two saints as given in the Georgian is the same as that of the non-Christian Arabic, and differs from that of the Greek form.

Professor Marr further makes these remarks about the Georgian text. In *The Wisdom of Balavari* the importance and the position of the parables is determined by the hermit's motive, which is simply to edify. Thus Balavari, at the first meeting with Iodasaph, tells him that before he shows him the marvellous pearl, that is, the word of truth, he must test him. And then he begins to test him by reciting parables. At first he is content to give a very simple interpretation of these; but, having prepared his hearer by a series of them, he resolves to acquaint him with the rudiments of the true faith. But

this he does not of himself, but by the lips of the wise counsellor who is introduced in parable number six. It is only when Balavari is persuaded that Iodasaph's soul is fully prepared, it is only when the latter, in imitation of the king mentioned in the sixth parable, declares his readiness to receive the true faith at once, that a dogmatic and monitory tone begins to predominate in the parables, and that finally Balavari openly preaches the Christian religion to his pupil. Meanwhile in the Arabic, in which the allegorical element predominates, as also in the Greek, in which it is lost under a mass of reflections, the parables occupy a casual place, and are deprived of that preparatory significance which they acquire, in the Georgian adaptation, from the preaching of the ascetic. The reflections of a dogmatic and ascetic character, which are almost absent in the Arabic, and are insignificant and brief in the Georgian, take on a wide development in the Greek; and if we compare the tale from this standpoint as we have it in the three languages, the importance of the Arabic is very small, and we need only regard the Greek and the Georgian. Still, in making this comparison it is to be noticed how many points belong exclusively to the Greek. Such are the history of the Old and New Testaments, given twice over; the proof of a divine force in Christianity; the proof that it was spread by means of a small number of humble people; the comparison of the law of the New Testament with that of Moses; the long extracts from the Sermon on the Mount, with other citations from Matthew and Luke; all the other citations from the entire Bible and those taken from the fathers; the detailed teaching of the Trinity and of all sorts of other orthodox beliefs; the inculcation of respect for Ikons; the discussion of free-will and election; the explanation of the sacraments of baptism and of the Eucharist; the sermon on repentance and mercy; the treatise on martyrs and confessors; the circumstantial information concerning ascetics and monks; the proof of

the antiquity of asceticism as a Christian practice; the description of future rewards and punishments; the enumeration of heathen religions and of the defects of each of them; the overthrow of idols and the refutation of heathen poets. It is in these latter sections of the Greek text that Professor Armitage Robinson recognised the early *Apology for Christianity* of Aristides. But of it, as of all the other voluminous teachings of the Greek, we find nothing in the Georgian; and in the Armenian similarly they are scarcely to be traced at all.

Another fact of much significance is this, that in the Georgian the proper names approach in their spelling very closely to the old Indian or Buddhist forms: *e.g.* Georgian Iodasaph is nearer than Josaphat to the Arabic Yudasaph and Bûdâsaph of the Bombay MS. (*Sanskrit Bodhisattva*). So the Georgian Thedma or Thedam is nearer to the Sanskrit Devadatta than the Greek Theudas, which is a misspelling suggested by the *Acts*. Zandani of the Georgian is nearer to the Sanskrit Chandaka and Burmese Sanna than Zardan of the Greek. Balavari is nearer to Bihalar than Barlaam. That it is still a favourite name in Georgian shows how popular this story has ever been in that country. Again Iabenes is nearer the original than Abenner, which, as Kuhn points out, is due to biblical influence (2 Sam. iii. 6). The Bombay text has Ganaisar. Lastly, in Georgian, the place Bolat, where the king Iabenes lived, is an easy corruption of Sawilabatt of the Bombay text, Buddhist Kapilavatthu.

THE ARMENIAN FORM OF BARLAAM AND JOSAPHAT.

The following translation has been made from a text preserved in the Bodleian codex Marsh, 438. This manuscript is an Armenian Menologion, that is to say, a collection of acts of martyrs, of homilies, and other pieces appropriate to,

and appointed to be read in church upon, every day in the year. The story of Baralam, as the Armenian spells it, and of Josaphat, comes at the end of this Armenian Menologion, and is probably a later addition to the main collection, which was made as early as the ninth century. I have compared this Bodleian text with that of a similar manuscript which I lately procured from Tiflis, and which is now in the British Museum. The Bodleian codex was written in the sixteenth century, about 1550. That of the British Museum is dated 1603; but this apocryph is added in a later hand at the end of the volume. I have also compared the beginning and end of the piece with a text found in an Armenian Menologion of the year 1440, preserved in the Library of San Lazaro, at Venice. The latter is the most ancient text that I have seen of it. An older Menologion of the thirteenth century, also preserved at Venice, does not contain this piece. A notice at the end of the apocryph informs us that it was translated into Armenian by one Asat, under the king Bagratuni. The Bagratuni dynasty ruled from about A.D. 850 to about 1050, so that the Armenian version may well be as old at the tenth century; and the good and pure Armenian in which it is composed makes it probable that it was earlier rather than later. Syriac constructions, especially the use of the participle for the finite verb, frequently occur, as well as some purely Syriac words, which are to be found in no other Armenian writing. It must therefore have been made, not from a Greek, but from a Syriac text. It probably circulated among Armenian readers as an edifying tale before it was transferred into the Menologion, in the fifteenth century; for no doubt these Buddhist saints took some time to find their way into the Christian calendar. That it was circulating among the Armenians as a separate book, and that it was very popular among them, long before Barlaam and Josaphat received actual canonization, is rendered probable by the circumstance that early in the fifteenth century a certain Armenian poet, called Arhakel Vardapet, turned it

into prose-verse; just as, in the thirteenth century, a Spanish Jew, Ibn Khizdai, turned the non-Christian Arabic recension into a Hebrew prose-poem. Of this poem or rhythmic prose recension made by Arhakel, there are manuscripts both in the Bodleian and in the British Museum. At the foot of the text I have given a few variants of the Armenian story as preserved in this poem of Arhakel; but it is clear that the text which he followed was the same as that which we have in the Armenian Menologia.¹

The History of the King of India, Jovasaphat, and of Baralam the ascetic.

Now when it became man, the word of God chose twelve disciples who were also named apostles, and it sent them into all the world to preach the kingdom of God. And the land of India fell by lot to the Apostle Thomas, who departed thither to preach Christ. And there he worked many miracles with power of the all-holy Spirit; he built churches, and ordained priests and deacons. And he himself, having fought a good fight, died in Christ. But that land stood by the preaching of the holy apostle for a long time; yet at last idolatry once more began to prevail; and there rose up a king great and victorious in his might, by name Abener. And he aroused persecution against the Christians; and many champions of the faith were martyred by him with all sorts of tortures, men and women, old and young, and thus won the unfading crown from Christ our God. Now this proud king Abener had no

¹ The poem of Arakhel is found in the following codices :—

British Museum, Or. 4580;

Bodleian, Canon. Orient. 131 (Colophon as follows; In the year of the Armenians 883 (=A.D. 1435) this poem was composed by Arhagel Vardapet, called Balishetzzi);

Biblioth. Nation., Paris, Ancien Fonds Armén. No. 133, fol. 103-144 (not consulted);

Etschmiazin Catal. of Gharenian, Nos. 1603 and 1642 (not consulted).

The prose Armenian text is given in :—

Bodleian, Marsh MS., 438, A.D. 1550 (This text is the one here translated);

British Museum, Hajsmavourk, from Tiflis (The Barlaam and Josaphat is added at the end in an eighteenth century hand);

Venice, Hajsmavourk of A.D. 1440 (collated at beginning and end);

Etschmiazin Codex (Gharen Catal.), No. 1642 (not consulted);

Biblioth. Nat., Ancien Fonds Armén. No. 89, fol. 540-552 (not consulted).

offspring, but all his time he would pray to the false gods to give him offspring; but they could not give it.

Then after a long time there was born to him a son. Whereat the king rejoiced, and he made much merry-making and feasting in the temples of the idols during many days; for he thought that his son had been given by them, and he called his name Jovasaph. And then he brought together fifty men who were astrologers and learned, and he asked of them what was to become of this child. And they carefully examined for many days the season of the child's birth, and the omens of the signs of the Zodiac. Then they came before the king and said: "As the courses of the stars teach us concerning thy son, so we will tell thee, O king. The prosperity of the infant is not in thy kingdom, but of another higher kingdom, which is above all kingdoms of the earth." But a certain one of the astrologers said: "To me it seemeth thus, O king, that thy son taketh up the very doctrine of the Christians, which thou, with much persecution, hast banished from thy realm, and he will exalt it in manifold ways far above thy kingdom."

When the king heard this he was sorely grieved, and, having reflected, he devised means whereby to preserve his son from the Christian religion. And he gave orders that they should build a palace, beautiful and sumptuous; and within it he made every provision for the child's wants, and adorned it with fair constructions. And after the child was weaned he placed it in the palace which he had built and decorated; and he assigned there slaves to wait upon him, children fair to behold and youths of maturer age. And he charged them to take care lest the child should hear any of the distressing incidents which mar this life, either of poverty, or of pain, or of old age, or of death, or of any other distressing circumstance. But he was to be told of everything which gladdens, which is good and blithe and joyous; of whatsoever is fair and noble unto the eyes and heart of man, of that he was to hear from them. But if any one of his attendants should fall sick or die, they were to conceal it from him, and appoint instead others to wait upon the child; and they were to excuse the absence of their fellow slave, saying that he had been sent on a journey into a far land by the king. And one other strict command was laid upon the slaves, that they should not let fall in the child's hearing any hint of Christ and his commandments.

All this the king did because of the words of the astrologer who said: "Thy son is to become a Christian." And so the son of the king lived and was brought up in the beautiful palace, until he reached his full age, and then the king appointed teachers for his son from among the learned men of the country. And of these the youth learned all the use of foreign languages; so that his tutors were amazed at such talent in one so young, and at the subtlety of his conversation. And the king was correspondingly pleased, and marvelled at the beauty of the child and at the swiftness of his growth. And every day the king went and saw the child and came back full of joy. And he perpetually charged the attendants not to let the child hear aught of death or of the sorrows of men upon earth. Yet since it is impossible to conceal from man the knowledge of death, it so chanced that one day Jovasaph called to

himself one of the slaves whom he loved and demanded to learn of him what there was outside yonder wall, and wherefore did the king confine him there? "If then," he said, "thou wilt tell me this, I will make thee second under myself; and will give thee everything that thou shalt ask of me." But the wise slave, seeing how shrewd was the boy's mind, began to tell him all things one by one; and also about the persecution of the Christians which his father carried on. He told him also of the prophecy of the astrologers, and concerning the same he said to him: "Our king, thy father, hath confined thee here, that thou mayst be brought up in gladness, and he has enjoined us on no account to acquaint thee with the cares of earth even in a single particular."

But when the young man heard this he made no answer; yet there sprang up in his heart the word of salvation and the consoling grace of the Holy Spirit, opening the eyes of his understanding unto the end that he should know the true God.

And on the morrow there came to him the king, and the youth advanced to meet him; and they embraced and kissed one another and then sat down. Then the youth spake to his father thus: "My lord, the king, I have a question to ask of thee, that thou wouldest teach me, for I am beset with anxiety and distress concerning the reasons for which I am detained here."

The king said: "My child, I will do as thou wishest." But the ruler was much cast down, and after reflection he said to himself: "If I oppose his quest, perhaps the child will be all the more distressed." And he forthwith had brought round steeds, gay with gold trappings; and he caused all the streets to be decorated along which the youth would pass. And he stationed before their path singers with sweet voices; and he bade everything foul and unpleasant to be removed out of view of the child. And so it was daily when the youth went out, and roamed wherever he desired. But one day, while the king's son was on his way, his slaves who went before him were negligent and were not thinking. So that he suddenly saw two men, the one a leper and the other blind, and he wondered within himself what was the matter with them. And as they could not conceal it, they said: "These are painful diseases such as beset men."

And Jovasaph said: "Will every man become thus?" And they replied: "No; but some only through ills of the flesh, and others through their horoscopes." The king's son said: "Doth man know beforehand the ills of the flesh in store for him?" They answered: "'Tis impossible for a man to know what is in store for him; the immortal gods can alone know." And Jovasaph was grieved thereat, and the beauty of his face wasted, and the bloom of his features and form withered away for the seeing of such unwonted sights.

And on another day when Jovasaph was going on his way he saw a white-haired man, very aged, who walked limping upon two sticks, and his hands were palsied, and he stood there leaning on his sticks and talked with enfeebled voice. And thereat Jovasaph marvelled and asked what it was he saw. And

they said : “ He hath lived a long time, and is therefore grown weak in body and hath lost his strength ; and so he hath no power any more in body, but hath lost his strength. And thus he hath no more any power, but is brought low, as thou perceivest.”

Jovasaph said : “ What will become of him ? ” And they answered : “ Death will release him from such afflictions as are his.”

Jovasaph said : “ What is death ? ” And they answered : “ It is death which severs the spirit from the flesh, and the flesh remains lifeless.”

Jovasaph said : “ Is death lord over all alike or over this man only ? ” And they answered, that if death were not to remove men, the earth would not suffice to contain mankind. But death was to come unto all alike.

Jovasaph said : “ And after how many years cometh death unto man ? ” And they answered : “ Death waits not upon time, but cometh upon every age suddenly, on old man and child, on the humble and great, on the rich and poor alike.”

Jovasaph said : “ And is it possible for anyone to escape from death ? ” And they said : “ No, for it must needs be that all should die.”

But Jovasaph when he heard all this said : “ Then bitter and brief¹ is the life of this world.” And after thinking upon it he desired to learn what would become of man after death. And as touching this he was daily full of care, and he took no rest, but wished to find someone who could teach him the way of salvation. But he that knoweth the heart and revealeth the secrets of men ; who desireth that every man should live and come to a knowledge of the truth, shewed unto him the way of life in his most merciful loving kindness as follows :

Concerning the coming of Baralam the Monk.

And it came to pass in those days there was a man learned and wise among the aged Eremites. He was acquainted with God’s commands, and versed in the Old and New Testaments, very eloquent and erudite, and his name was Baralam. Now by the intimation of the Holy Spirit he knew about the son of the king ; and he arose and came into that city in the guise of a merchant. And having entered the city he abode there many days, until he became known to the servant of the king’s son, who full often went in and out confidentially. And the old man took him aside and said : “ Know, my lord, that I am a trader come hither from a far land, and I have a precious jewel of great price, such as no man hath ever seen the like of. And I have desired to shew it unto thee alone, because I know thee to be a wise man and trusted by thy master, the son of the great king. And I would fain be brought by thee before the king’s son, that I may shew unto him the beautiful pearl. For this pearl hath power to give sight unto the blind, to the dumb to speak, and to the deaf to hear, to the halt to walk, and

¹ The word haramé, which I render “ brief,” is not Armenian, but is almost certainly Syriac.

to the sick in heart it giveth health." The trusty slave said to him : "I behold in thee a wise man and of firm common sense ; yet I hear thee speak foolish words. Stones and pearls of great size and vast value I have seen in the homes of our kings ; but such as thou speakest of I have never either heard of nor seen. But shew it unto me, that I may see whether it be as thou sayest. Then will I instantly bring thee before the king's son, and many presents wilt thou receive from him. For I cannot say aught that is false before the lord my king."

The old man Baralam replied : "Thou didst well to say that thou hadst never heard or seen such a pearl ; but since thou didst ask to see my precious pearl, I must tell thee that, for all its powers, it has this drawback,¹ that he who is sick in spirit cannot see it. I am acquainted also with the healing art, and I see in thine eyes that thou hast not perfect health. And therefore thou canst not see the beautiful pearl. However be not obstinate, but hasten to tell thy lord, lest through thee he should forfeit this precious pearl." And the slave answered that it should be so, and said : "I will make it known concerning thee to my lord the king's son." And forthwith he went unto Jovasaph and told him all ; but he was filled with joy at the tale, and he straightway commanded that the man should be summoned before him. And Baralam having come in bowed low in reverence for the son of the king, who bade him be seated, and after brief converse said to him : "Shew to me thy pearl of great price."

Baralam said : "Let thy servants quit our presence, for of a truth the pearl seemeth a fine one to my lord the king." And when all the slaves had gone out, Jovasaph again said : "Shew me thy pearl, that I may behold it."

Baralam answered : "'Tis not meet that I should speak aught but the truth before the king, and all I have said is true. But first I will test thy mind and will afterwards shew thee the precious pearl ; for the lord and sovereign whom I worship spake thus : 'Behold a sower went out to sow ; and as he sowed, there was some that fell by the wayside, and the birds of the heaven devoured it. And other seed fell on rocky ground, and because there was no moisture in the place it was dried up when the sun arose. Other fell amidst thorns and straightway the thorns sprang up and choked it. But some fell on good soil and rich, and brought forth fruit.' And I, if I find in thy heart fruitful soil, will not delay to sow therein and make known unto thee the great mystery. But if thy mind be rocky, or full of tares, or trampled on by the many, then it were better not to acquaint thee ; for it is written : 'Give not my holy things to dogs, neither cast thy pearls before swine.' But if thou believest in my words, then I will tell thee the truth, and will also shew unto thee the pearl of great price, that with its light thou mayest be lightened, and mayest bring forth fruit an hundredfold for one."

Jovasaph said : "O venerable old man, I have a great desire to hear some

¹ From Syriac *Kasliath*, *defectus*, *deficientia*. The Armenian is probably therefore a version made from Syriac.

discourse of piety. For it is now many days that I am afflicted in my heart ; and I have not met with any man to reveal to me that which is in my heart. But if I met anyone from whom I could hear the word of salvation, the fowls of the air should not devour it, nor the beasts of the field trample it underfoot, nor tares strangle it, nor its leaf be dried up. Nay rather will I welcome it and cause it to shoot up right well, and nurture it with faith, and with steadfast hope cause it to bear fruit. But if thou knowest of such a word hide it not from me.”

Baralam said : “ Well hast thou said my son, and as besemeth thy majesty. For thou hast not desired to pursue these vanities, but hast only had regard unto pious hopes.”

And Baralam spake these parables [meet and helpful].¹

“ A certain king was sitting in his chariot ; and he met with some men who wore tattered garments ; and their bodies were discoloured by frost and sun. And they cried out saying, ‘ We are heralds of immortal life.’ When the king heard these words of theirs, he descended from his chariot and saluted them ; and paying them great honour he seated them near unto himself. But the king’s mighty ones murmured thereat, yet did not dare to say aught to the king. But they acquainted his brother of how the sovereign outraged the honour of the sovereignty. And there came the king’s brother and told all, but the king made no answer.

“ Now it was the custom with this king, that whomsoever he desired to slay, he would send unto such an one’s door the messenger of death ; who came and blew a trumpet and sounded a pshawm at his door. So [when it was eventide] the king sent trumpeters to the door of his brother, heralding his death. So his brother heard the heralds of his own death, which was to be at dawn. And he rose early,² and arrayed himself in a garb of mourning, and went to the door of the palace, and held himself to be altogether amerced of his life. When the king heard that his brother was come to die, he called him before him and said : ‘ Fool, if thou wast so much affrighted at the messengers of death, who were dispatched to thy door by thy brother whom thou lovest, against whom thou hast not sinned in any way ; why then wast thou grieved with me, because I honoured the messengers of my God, who heralded unto me immortal happiness?’ And the king honoured his brother, and clad him in royal raiment, and sent him to his home rejoicing.”

The Second Parable of Baralam.

“ Now the same king after that caused to be made two vessels of wood ; and he ordered the one of them to be encrusted with gold and silver, and to be adorned

¹ The B. M. Codex omits the words enclosed in brackets on this and following pages.

² B. M. When the brother of the king heard the message of death, he was much affrighted, and made a will against his death on the morrow.

with jewels and pearls, and to be filled with foul refuse ; but the other to be encrusted with bitumen, and filled with gold and pearls and jewels of value. And he had brought into the presence of his mighty ones the two vessels, and said : ‘Put ye a price on these.’ And they looked and set a price on the gold-bound vessel, even many pieces of money, its worth as it appeared to their eyes. But when they opened it, there issued from it so strong a stench that all fled therefrom. But when they opened the pitch-encrusted vessel there poured forth pearls and jewels of great price. Then spake the king to his princes and said : ‘It is not right to be guided by what appears to the eyes of men.’ But do thou too, my son, model thyself on this wise king. For thou hast not walked in the way of these vanities ; but hast become participant in the hidden blessings.”

Jovasaph said : “All this hast thou spoken truly and well. But I am fain to know of thy king, concerning whom thou hast told in the parable of the sowing.

Then Baralam began to tell him all things, from the beginning of the world until Christ. But Jovasaph rose and threw himself from his throne and embraced the feet of Baralam, and said : “O, my father, then this was the precious pearl of great price which thou didst not wish to reveal. For when I heard thy speech, the light of God’s grace instantly dawned in my heart. And if thou knowest anything further of these matters, I pray thee delay not, but tell me all.”

Baralam said : “Truly said my lord and king, the pearl of great price is the hidden mystery of God, that those who believe therein may also be baptised.”

Jovasaph said : “All that has been said by thee is true ; and with upright heart I believe, and I acknowledge Jesus Christ whom thou preachest to be God, and make avowal of him ; but I would fain know what is baptism ?”

Baralam answered : “Baptism is the root and foundation of a holy and flawless faith in Christ. Baptism sanctifies us from our sins, and is a purification of the soul from all sufferings. Baptism is a new birth for him that is born again, by fire and spirit, as the Saviour said. For those who are baptised are instantly made worthy of the primal honour which man had in the garden. And if they keep their baptism in truth, they regain their pristine glory. For he that is baptised in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, straightway there cometh down upon him the grace of the Holy Spirit, unto his illumination, for a renewal of him in all ways, and unto his becoming a seer of God ; just as before man sinned he was the image and likeness of God. For by baptism man becomes the adopted son of his Heavenly Father and a brother of Christ.”

Jovasaph said : “Thou hast acquainted me well and truly with all. Tell me, therefore, what I must do in order that we may be saved from eternal torments, and may be made worthy of the joy which men now receive from God.”

Baralam said : “Do thou take the seal of Christ, holy baptism ; and take up his cross in repentance ; and follow after the crucified Christ who calls thee

from darkness unto light, from death to life, from ignorance unto knowledge of his truth. For the darkness of ignorance covers them that worship idols. For it is written : The idols of the heathen are gold and silver, the handiwork of the sons of men.¹ They see not, neither do they hear, and have no speech in their mouths. Like unto them shall be all who made them and worship them.”

Parable the Third spoken by Baralam.

“ Let those who worship idols be likened to a certain birdcatcher, who caught a little sparrow, and he was bent on killing it, when the bird gave a human cry, and said, ‘ What profit hast thou, O man, in eating me ? An thou wilt release me and let me go, I will tell thee three maxims, which, if thou canst keep them in mind, will be of great value and advantage to thee for thy life.’ Forthwith the man wondered greatly at the human speech of the bird and bethought him of what sort of advice it would give him. So he let it go; and the sparrow flew away and perched on a bough and then began to soar in the air, and said to the hunter, ‘ This is my advice, listen and take it to heart. Put no trust in a vain report, and lament not over things that are past ; and try not to grasp that which thou canst not reach. If thou observe this advice, thou wilt find much joy in thy life.’

“ Now when the hunter began to go on his way, the sparrow tempted him to see if the man observed the counsels which he gave him. And he cried out to him from the air and said, ‘ Woe to thee, for thy folly, O man, since a grand and glorious thing hath this day been lost to thee. For I had in my crop a great pearl, greater than the egg of an ostrich.’² When the hunter heard that he began to repent that he had let the bird go ; and lifting his hand in the air he stretched it out, and tried to take hold of it, but took hold of nothing ; and since he could not reach it, he said: ‘ Come down from out of the air, and I will carry thee into my house and with great honour release thee.’

“ But the sparrow answered and said : ‘ Behold, I knew thee to be a senseless man ; for thou didst with joy receive my advice, but of three maxims thou hast not kept one. I told thee not to repent of the past, and behold I see thy countenance changed in colour because I was liberated from thy hands. And whereas I warned thee not to venture to aspire to what thou canst not reach, thou endeavourest to bring me down out of the air. I told thee also not to trust to light words ; and yet thou hast relied on them. For how can that be found in my belly which is greater than my entire bulk ? Thou hast not bethought thee, O fool, that I, feathers and all, am not so big as the egg of an ostrich. How then could there be found in me a pearl of such a size?’

“ Even so foolish as he are they that put their hope in idols and worship the works of their own hands and think they are profited thereby. For how can the creature save its creator ? Now for us who have faith there is one

¹ Sons of men is a Syriac idiom.

² The Arabic word *zatim* is used in the Armenian.

God, the father of all, and one Lord, Jesus Christ (by whom are all things), and one Holy Spirit (in whom are all things). God the Father is one and derived from none; one and only-born is the Son, timeless, begotten of the father; one is the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father. And this is one substance and one nature of the all-holy Trinity. This faith in God we received from the divine scriptures; in this we were baptised and of this we make profession. Thou also, then, if thou believest and art baptised, shalt be saved; but if thou believest not thou art condemned. For all this glory of thine and the splendour which thou wearest is transitory. There is a time when thou must be driven forth from all this luxury and pomp of thine, and when thy body will be confined in a cramped and narrow sepulchre, alone, separated from all friends and comrades. And instead of all this wealth thou shalt rot and be the food of worms. But thy spirit they will shut up in the place of condemnation until the last day, when there is the resurrection of the dead. Then once more thy spirit shall enter thy body and both shall fall into the burning fire eternal. All this impends for those who die in infidelity. But if with upright heart thou listen to him that calls thee unto salvation, leave all and follow after him, and thou shalt receive eternal happiness."

Fourth Parable.

"The life of the world is to be likened to (that of) the man who, fleeing from the presence of an unicorn, in the hurry of his flight fell into a ditch wide and deep. Then he stretched out his hands and laid hold of the branch of a tree which grew on the edge of the pit. And so he set his feet firmly on the bank of the ditch, and thought himself to be safely rescued. But he looked up and saw two mice, the one white and the other black, who were gnawing away the branch to which he clung, and they had progressed nearly so far as to cut it asunder. And looking down he saw at the bottom of the pit a terrible dragon, out of whose mouth there issued fire, and his mouth was open waiting for the man to fall in. Then he looked down to where his feet were planted and saw there the heads of four snakes that struck at the soles of his feet. But from the tree, to the bough of which he clung, there was dropping down a little sweet honey, whereupon he forgot all the stress under which he lay and opened his mouth wide to catch that little drop of sweet honey which distilled from the tree.

"Like unto him are all who pursue the vain things of the world. But in the unicorn we are to recognise the pattern of death, who assails every man from his birth unto his death. But the pit of the dragon is this world, full of all evils and deadly snares. But the branch which was being gnawed through by the two mice is the twofold duration (*lit.* time) of life which is being consumed and wasted by day and night, and for ever approaches the point at which it will be cut short. (The black mouse is night, and the white is day.) And the four snakes (which were at his feet) are the four natures which make up man out of four elements welded together, but which, if weakened, deal death to

men. But the dragon, big with fire and terrible, is the belly of hell, which awaits all those who have enjoyed the good things of this life. And the drop of sweet honey (which distilled from the bough) is the sweetness of this world (and of sins) which hinder the salvation of those who love them."

And Jovasaph was very pleased at the parable spoken by the old man, and besought him to tell him another like unto it.

Fifth Parable.

Baralam said : "Those who put their hopes in the riches of this world are like unto a certain man who had three friends. And the two of them he loved to excess and made much of them, and was ready to die rather than thwart their wishes ; but the third friend he held in contempt, nor ever deigned to honour him or his wishes in the same way as theirs. But on a sudden there came to him soldiers, who arrested him in haste and set out to take him before the king, to whom he was deeply in debt. So they came and carried him away, that he might account to the king for many thousand talents which he owed. And being hard pressed by them that summoned him, he sought for one of his friends to come and help him in the dread tribunal of the judge. And he went first to the first of his friends and said :

"'Dost thou know, my friend, how at all times I have laid down my life for you? Now then, I beseech thee, help me this day; for the king summons me.'

"But the friend he most honoured answered and said : 'I cannot in anywise help thee in this matter; but I can only give thee two linen raiments for thy journey, wherein thou art not profited.'

"And when the man heard this he went to his second friend, and said : 'Thou knowest me, O my friend and companion, how I have loved thee all the days of my life. Now therefore help me, for much trouble has come upon me to-day.'

"But his friend answered and said : 'What straits are they which beset thee?'

"And he said : 'The king summons me, and I desire thee to share in my adversity, and to aid me as far as the king's court, and there intercede for me.'

"But the other said : 'I am not at leisure to go with thee, for I have many cares. But I will escort thee a little way, and then return.'

"So he, being disappointed of his two friends, went to the third, whom he despised and whom he had never thought worthy of his full affection. And he said to him, with his face full of shame : 'I have not the face to address a prayer to thee, for I have never been a sharer of thy joy. And this I remember to-day, yet speak boldly to thee. Yet I have never done thee any kindness, which thou mayest remember, and help me. Help me, then, merely as one whom thou knowest by sight ; for sore trouble has come upon me ; and from my other friends I have received no help. So I have come to beseech thee, if thou canst help me in my trouble to-day, not to remember

my former heartlessness towards thee, nor the harshness with which I have treated thee.'

"And the other's face shewed joy, and he answered and said: 'I hold thee for a true friend, and I remember that little love which thou hadst toward me. Fear not, nor be in anywise dismayed. For I will run to the king beforehand and entreat him for thee, that he deliver thee not into the hands of thine enemies. Be of good courage, my friend, and grieve not.'

"Then the other repented and said: 'Woe to me; what have I done? I will first weep over and lament my folly, for that I had such a tender love for my unworthy favourites, yet never thought my friend worthy of the love which he deserved.'

Jovasaph said: "Explain me this parable."

Baralam said: "The first friend is this world's riches, which full often work great harm. For man falls into the snare because of his wealth and possessions. And then when there comes his dying day, he is not otherwise profited thereby, except to have therefrom a linen shroud. But in the second friend are figured familiar friends, relations, and comrades. In that season, they too overlook affection shewn them in the past, and give no aid in the last day of life; but only follow and escort one as far as the tomb; after which they return to their several cities. But the third friend, who was set at naught, is the symbol of faith and good works; and these we know, as believing in them only, though we do not carry them out in our conduct. Yet this is that which can go before us; and when we quit this world, we win through them a vision of God."

Jovasaph said: "Blessings on thee from the Lord thy God, O wise man; for thou hast made my heart glad. And now as touching my sire, may God do unto him according to his good pleasure. But I espouse the words of thy teaching. Receive my heart; for I believe in thy true God, whom thou servest and proclaimest."

The Sixth Parable.

Baralam said: "If thou thus doest, thou art like to a wise youth, who was of a very great house and son of a noble father, whom his father desired to marry to a prince's daughter, who was passing fair. And forasmuch as the youth desired not to marry her to whom his father had betrothed him, he fled afar into a strange land. And there he saw a poor man, with white hair, who had an only-born daughter, who as she worked with her hands with her lips praised God perpetually. And when the youth saw this he enquired of the damsels: 'What is thy work, O woman? For I see thee to be poor, since by the labour of thy hands thou suppliest thy necessary wants, and thankest God with upright heart, as if thou wast rich.'

"But the damsels made answer and said: 'I thank God for my poverty, in order that I may be deserving of riches. But I rejoice yet more, for that in myself I behold a creature that is wholly and entirely an image of God;

for I own in myself no want or need. But riches and poverty are from God, and I reckon not that a good or ill of my soul.'

"When the young man heard the words of the damsel, he straightway went back to his father and said: 'Dost thou desire my salvation? If so, bring me to wife the daughter of yonder white-haired old man; for I am much pleased with her. And he persuaded his father to bring her to him as his wife. But when the marriage took place, his white-haired father-in-law called him, and gave him an emerald which weighed twenty litres¹ and said :

"'Forasmuch as it hath pleased thee, my son, to become heir of my property, take this unto thee as my daughter's dowry.'

"And he took the stone and sold it to princes, and received much money as its price, and became sevenfold richer than his father."

Jovasaph said: "I am much delighted with thy story, O holy father, and I pray thee to tell me also the meaning of thy parable."

Baralam said: "A youth art thou, and an old man am I. And my daughter is the life of our religion, which is a lovely likeness of the arche-typal God in its holiness. And the emerald is the life eternal that passes not away; but the twenty litres of weight shew forth the age which never grows old of them that are immortal. But if thou listen to my preaching, and come to know the true God, thou shalt be sevenfold richer than thy sire in this life, and shall inherit immortal life."

Jovasaph said: "My heart is rejoiced full much at thy words, O holy father. But tell me also this, how old thou art and what time thou learnedst all this doctrine which thou teachest."

Baralam said: "Forty-five years I have been in the desert, continually reading the divine scriptures."

Jovasaph said: "How sayest thou that thou art forty years old: for behold I see thee white haired, more than if thou wert eighty years of age."

Baralam said: "I number, all my days, more than seventy years; but I reckon not all this unto my life. For so long as I was a slave to sin, I was not alive. For he that is a slave to sin is dead in the spirit; and so I do not count my days of death in the tale of my life."

Jovasaph said: "Whence the raiment wherein ye are clad, and what is your food in the desert?"

Baralam said: "Our food is the green herb, and our drink is of the dew of heaven. We eat and drink in peace and calm by the command of our Creator; and there is no one who arouses discord among us or who is avaricious or jealous of another about his food. But they bring us bread from our brethren who live near and love God. Thus do we eat, and thank God. But our raiment is the sackcloth of our neighbours, and skins, which protect our parched bodies. And this is our clothing in winter and summer. And thus we endure patiently a little time, looking unto the luminous and imperishable and deathless food."²

¹ The word *litra* is used.

² The B. M. codex has "deathless raiment," which is better.

Jovasaph said : "Then tell me whence didst thou get the raiment thou wearest ?"

Baralam said : "I procured this on loan ; for it was not possible for me to come unto thee in my usual garb."

Then Jovasaph began to weep, and said : "I pray thee, holy father, snatch my person out of prison, and lead me with thee into thy solitude, for I renounce the world for good and all."

The Seventh Parable.

Baralam said : "A certain hunter had reared a little kid ; which, when it was grown up, escaped from the hunter and went into the mountain, which was its natural haunt, and there it found a flock of goats and mixed therewith. But the servants of the hunter went out in pursuit of the kid, and found it pasturing in the midst of the goats, and they took the kid and brought it back to its place ; but of the rest they slew some and cruelly wounded others. But if thou shouldst join us, the same fate will befall us at thy coming ; for they will follow thee and take thee back to thy place, but us they will slay. But God, in whom thou hast believed, will do unto thee according to his good pleasure. However, in the present be thou baptised and receive the seal of Christ, whereby thou art able to resist the insidious temptations of Satan. So thou undertakest all the commands and code of Christ, and may God, the giver of all blessings, grant thee a portion in our life, that thou shouldst come unto us and pass along with us the remaining days of our life. For this I hope in the Lord, so that in the future we may not be divided one from another."

And Jovasaph wept and said : "If this be the will of God let it be according to his pleasure. But now tell me this too, whether, if one sin after baptism and again repent one will win remission or no?"

Baralam said : "For a man to sin is not evil ; since it is written : 'As often as thou faldest, rise up ; and as often as thou pollutest thyself, wash ; and as often as thou sinnest, repent.' For it is written in the prophet Isaiah, who spake great things : 'Tell thou thy sins first of all, for that thou shalt be justified.' For this reason is God called merciful, a lover of man, because he is not wrath with the sinner for ever. But even up to his last breath, if he repent and confess, the merciful God will not destroy him. For he himself actually says : 'I came not to call the just men, but sinners to repentance.'"

And Jovasaph was greatly pleased at the old man's words, and said : "I pray thee, O holy man of God, to bestow on me the baptism of Christ, and receive of me whatsoever treasures thou wilt, for I will give unto thee for the wants of the brethren."

Baralam said : "As to thy reception of holy baptism, there is nothing to prevent it. Do thou only prepare thy soul for baptism and the grace of Christ. But as to thy proposition that I should receive aught of thy goods, which is most befitting for a rich man to give unto a poor one or for a poor man to a rich ? How shall I receive from thy poverty the riches of alms ; for the

humblest of my brethren is richer than thyself? For they that have wealth are not rich, but are slaves of their wealth; since with daily and restless toil they endeavour to augment their possessions.

"Know then, O prince, that by reason of such things ye are not rich, but slaves and men in need of riches. But we have forgotten all carking cares concerning food and raiment; because God cares for us, as we are taught in the psalm which says: 'Pour out unto the Lord thy cares, and he will feed thee.' So we are freed from the flesh and from all slavery to this world, and are made rich by our concern for Christ. But if out of thy possessions I were now to give unto my brethren, disturbing blasts would arise and fill our peaceful sails, and I should become unto them a messenger of evil. But God forbid that this should come to pass."

And Baralam arose and began to repeat unto Jovasaph the Nicene Creed, and baptised him in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit in the water of the garden, and in the same moment there came upon him the Holy Spirit. And he brought the divine offering and communicated unto him the flesh and blood of the Son of God. And he said to him: "Henceforth keep all the commandments of God by good works; since faith without works is dead, even as works without faith are in vain."

With such precepts and teaching the old man (Baralam) instructed and informed the son of the king, and then went his way unto the monastery wherein he dwelt.

But a certain one of Jovasaph's slaves, Zard by name, said to him: "Thou knowest my lord and prince, how much the fear of the king, thy sire, weighs on us, and how he set me as above all the other servants, most intimate and trustworthy, to remain always with thee. And behold, I see this stranger entering in unto thee and continually conversing with thee, and I fear that he is teaching thee the heresy of the Christians. Now, if thy sire hear this, he will straightway take away my life and cruelly destroy me. So then give orders that he be prevented from coming in unto thee. If not, I shall inform the king thy sire of everything."

Jovasaph said: "Before thou doest anything, I ask of thee, O Zard, to comply with this wish of mine. Sit thou down outside the curtain and listen to the words of the teaching of this man, which he imparts to me. And then I will tell thee what I think in my heart."

And the other did so; and on the morrow when Baralam came in before the king's son, he again said: "Welcome to thee, O holy father. Teach me still further out of thy beautiful wisdom, that I may be still more firmly stablished in thy commands."

Baralam said: "Many a time have I told thee about God and his commands. [It is befitting then for thee to love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thine understanding, and to keep all his commandments, and to bear in mind his behests, and to believe that he alone is creator of all creatures. Remember also that which I told thee concerning the first man, who kept not

the commandments of his creator, and was therefore condemned and driven out of the shadowless light. Remember also what ills have befallen mankind in the train of their first father's transgression. Nevertheless the Creator overlooked, and through his prophets he foretold the marvellous mystery of the economy of the only-begotten, and all which followed the incarnation of Christ. Remembering also his voluntary sufferings, his life-giving death, his burial for three days and his resurrection, and his glorious and miraculous ascent into heaven, look unto his second coming, and just tribunal, and impartial judgement, and requital of all according to their deserts, giving the crown to the saints and ineffable glory to the just. But adjudging also never-ending tortures to the sinners, for whom is prepared Satan with the ministers of his will.]

"And again I told thee many things about justice and purity; yea and also about all evils and the vanity of the life of this world [which is a mere shadow and place of sojourning for men].¹ Keep therefore all that I have told thee, and the God of peace shall abide with thee."

And when Baralam went out, Jovasaph called Zard and said: "Thou hast now heard the lore which the holy man of God taught me, and knowest how he desired to save me from the deceits of this world."

But this he said to try Zard, and see what he would say. But Zard answered:

"Since thou temptest thy servant, O Prince, I know that thou hast wholly resigned thy mind to his preaching, and treasurest in thy heart all his words. So then if this be thy resolve, and if thou art able to endure their life, be thy will done. But I will not hide this from thy sire, for I am now informed as to this preaching. For thy father raised a persecution against the Christians, and they all fled from our land."

Jovasaph said: "Howbeit I care not, since I am ready to die for the name of Christ."

And on the morrow when Baralam desired to leave him, Jovasaph lamented with many tears the departure of the old man from himself. But Baralam with many tears and words of comfort and divine teaching, established his mind in the true faith of Christ, and promised him this also, that they would be together in the desert, and in the presence of Christ in life immortal. And Jovasaph said:

"I have one request to make of thee, and it is impossible for thee to fulfil it. Give me the hair sack which thou hast worn and thy little cloak, for my soul to treasure up."

And the other took them off and gave to Jovasaph all that he asked. And the latter took them and put them on, and was more delighted with them than with his royal purple. But the blessed Baralam spake these last words of his teaching to Jovasaph:

¹ And about the judgement, and second coming, and the just tribunal and just requital, of the holy crown and ineffable glory of the just . . . of his will.

"My little son, whom with travail I have born by the Gospel of Christ, mark thee well of what sovereign thou hast donned the armour and flinch not at all from fulfilling his commands."

[But Jovasaph embraced the old man, weeping bitterly, and said :

"Who shall complete for me thy teaching, and from whom shall I gain consolation for my heart? For like a good shepherd thou foundest me a sheep gone astray. For I was lost and was found by thee in faith; I was dead and was by thee made alive in Christ. Now then send forth my soul from the prison and from the shadows of death my life?"]

But Baralam bade farewell to Jovasaph, and kissed him in holy wise, giving to him the peace of Christ; and then he went his way with tears of joy towards the desert, glorifying Christ.

But Zard saw all this, and in particular the fasting and abstinence and prayers of Jovasaph; and he was filled with sorrow, but could not inform the king thereof. And by reason of his violent sorrow he fell sick. And when the king asked the reason of his sickness, he said :

"Because, O my Lord, thy son has learned of the evil sect of the Christians from a trickster who entered in unto him. But we from dread of thy son could not restrain that sectary."

When the king heard that, a terror seized his heart, and he remembered how he had beforehand heard of Baralam and of his teaching. And straightway he summoned his most trusted Arashis before him, who was also learned in astrology. And he saw the colour gone from his monarch's face, and said :

"Grieve not, O prince. I do thy will and pleasure, and thy son shall deny the crafty teaching of yonder fellow. So command me to go in pursuit of Baralam; and if I take him, I will bring him before thee, and put him in such tortures as that he will declare unto thy son to be false the doctrine which he taught him."

And at once the edict went forth from the king to close and keep all the roads of the land, and to seek out Baralam. But Arashis with his soldiers arrived in the desert and found not Baralam; but took others of the monks, eighteen souls, and having brought them before the king, they laid stress on them to deny Christ, and to reveal where Baralam was. But they neither revealed that nor denied Christ. So they slew them with the sword, eighteen souls. And there was in the city a certain whitehaired magician, Nachovr by name; to whom came Arashis by night, and, having clad him in a hair sack, sent him forth into the wilderness, in order that the soldiers coming at dawn might find him and think that he was Baralam, and take and bring him to the king. For there had been a plot laid between Nachovr and the king and Arashis, of which they alone knew, and no one else.

And on the morrow, the vizier said to some of his soldiers : "We have heard concerning Baralam, that he daily roams about this desert. Thither go and seek him out carefully, in order that ye may perchance find him. Then the soldiers went and scattered themselves over the face of the wilderness in quest of Baralam. And when they saw Nachovr with his white hair, and his hair

shirt, they took him and brought him before the vizier, supposing him to be Baralam.

The vizier said to him : " Whence art thou ? "

And he said : " I am one of the dwellers in the wilderness."

The vizier asked : " Of what faith art thou, a votary ? "

Nachovr answered : " Of the faith of Christ."

The vizier said : " What is thy name ? "

Nachovr said : " Baralam."

Then the vizier began to rejoice before the eyes of the soldiers. And he took and brought him before the king. But the king took him aside and said unto him all that he desired. And on the morrow the king took his seat on his throne, and had brought before him the wolf in sheep's clothing. And when Nachovr entered, the king said in the hearing of all the public : " Thou art Baralam, the worker of evil."

Nachovr said : " I am Baralam, servant of the true God, who have brought thy son to believe, and made him to worship God."

And the king in the eyes of the court shewed anger, and said : " I was resolved with many tortures to slay thee ; but now will I keep thee safe, until I have asked thee questions before my wise men. And if they vanquish thee, then will I give thee honour according to thy merits." And having said this he gave him to the vizier to be cast into prison.

But Jovasaph, when he heard that Baralam was taken, began to weep and prayed God to come to his assistance. But the merciful God desired not the sorrow of Jovasaph ; but by means of an angel in a dream by night revealed to him all, saying : " Thy sire hath taken Nachovr, and he is a sham offender. It is Nachovr the wizard and not Baralam. But he has disguised him as Baralam, in order to persuade thee."

Then Jovasaph arose and prayed and thanked God. And after two days the king came to Jovasaph ; and he went to meet his father. But his father did not kiss him according to his custom, but passed him by as if in anger and sorrow and sat down, and then he said to his son : " What is this rumour which I hear about thee ? For so much as I delighted in thy being born, so much the greater sorrow have I conceived. For thou hast dis honoured my grey hair, and art become a cause of rejoicing to mine enemies. And thou hast made me the laughing stock of my neighbours and of strangers.

Jovasaph said : " Hear, O my prince, and be not angry, because no ill is done ; but I have escaped from darkness and followed the true light. I have renounced devils, and have believed in the true God." But the king was filled with wrath and knew not what to do ; but in shame and sorrow he went out saying to his son : " It was better for me that thou shouldst never have been born at all."

When the king had gone out he called the vizier, and related to him the speech of his son. But by the advice of the vizier the king went back to his son, and said : " I have in chains thy crafty teacher Baralam ; and now I will assemble a vast crowd of all races, in order that Baralam and my own sages

may converse before us. But if Baralam is vanquished, thou wilt know that he is a quack, and by false words perverted thee from our mighty gods."

But the God-loving and well-minded youth Jovasaph said to his father : "The will of my king be done ; and may God do according to his good will and pleasure."

And on the morrow a multitude was gathered together of men in the king's court. There came also Jovasaph and sat down near his father. Then the king said to his wise men : "Behold and mark ye. If ye conquer Baralam, ye shall earn great gifts from us; but if ye are vanquished by him and put me to shame, no one shall rescue you from my hands."

But Jovasaph said : "Well and rightly hath the king spoken. I, then, will converse with my teacher." And, turning to Nachovr, who was disguised as Baralam—for he knew the truth, that he was not Baralam—he said to him :

"Whereas thou didst find me in glory and riches, yet full of understanding of thy speech, thou didst make me deny my country's gods and worship the unknown God. And thou didst promise that I should inherit the bliss which passes not, and by such words didst thou cajole me, and draw me after thy precepts, and anger the king my father against me."

"Now, therefore, set thy life in the balance. If thou vanquish the wise men, then I know that thy words which thou hast taught me are true, and then I will honour thee with great glory. But if thou art vanquished by them and puttest me to shame, believe me, I will with mine own hands exact from thee the penalty of my disgrace. One by one I will cut off thy members, and give thee to eat of thy own flesh. I will pluck out thine eyes and cut out thy tongue, and then I will cast thee out to feed the dogs, in order that thou mayest be a warning to all charlatans not to dare to deceive the sons of kings."

When Nachovr heard this, he was seized with great fear; for he saw that he had fallen into the pit which he had dug for others, and he bethought him what he should do. And then he made up his mind to follow the wish of Jovasaph and escape his threats, for the king could not save him from the hands of his son. And (the more so) as it was meet for the adversary to become the vindicator of the truth, and for the dog to chase the wolves from the fold of Christ.

But when they began to dispute one with the other, Nachovr and the wise men, as of old Balaam the magus with Balak the king; who, instead of cursing, blessed the people of Israel. So then one of the philosophers rose and said to Nachovr : 'Thou art the senseless and folly-stricken Baralam.'

Nachovr replied: "I am the true servant of God, Baralam, who taught to the son of the king the way of righteousness, to worship the living God and not devils. Hear, O mighty and autocratic king, and all the assembled multitude : Jesus Christ, he is God of all and maker of all creatures, and there is no other God but he. But the sons of men are deceived by the evil Satan. They have forsaken their creator and worship the works of their own hands. Now, therefore, will I tell thee, O king, concerning creation. If they declare

the heaven to be God they are false. For the heavens are the work of the true God. And the heaven is of air and of fire, and is stretched out over the earth and is the screen between things seen and things unseen, between the (in)create and the changing. So, then, if any deem the sun and moon and stars to be gods, and so speak, they do so falsely. For they are not God, but created beings, appointed by God to subserve the world and to minister to day and night. And if again they declare water to be God, they lie. For the waters were made for the use of the world by God, and they are liable to be more or to be less, and also admit of change, since they are hot or cold. And if they declare fire to be God, neither in this do they ought but lie, since fire also was made for the uses of men. It giveth light and heat, but is destroyed by water and darkness. And how are these gods, when some are more powerful than others, so that they annul each other? But if they declare man to be God, that is yet more baseless. For from man and woman is he born, and taketh on all wants and bodily affections. Then he grows old and his fashion changeth and fadeth ; and after all that he is heritor of the general death : he perisheth and rolleth away. For he is placed in the tomb and decayeth there, and is turned again into the dust out of which he was taken. How, then, can he that perishes and passes away be the object of worship? I pass by the (superstitions) of the Hellenes and of the Egyptians and of the Chaldaeans, who instead of the immortal God worship men and women, harlots and Sodomites, and all other kinds of evil doers, yea, and the rat and the weasel and all sorts of vermin ; and out of these godless beings they have made gods.

“ But Christians from Christ have this knowledge. For they confess the all-holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in person and name divided, but in substance and nature, will and energy, in power and authority, in lordship and divinity united. And the one only-begotten, proceeding from three persons in unity, was made flesh out of the Holy Virgin Mary. The only-begotten Son, the word of the Father. He was conceived and born without seed, was manifested on earth, and walked among men, to free from the folly of polytheism those men who believe in him ; and, having perfected all for which he was sent by the Father, and having suffered the cross and death of his own free will, he was buried in the tomb ; he plundered Hell, and broke the power of Satan, and freed the imprisoned spirits from their bonds, and raised them in the glory of His Father into Heaven. And He sat down on the right hand on high, and sent down unto his disciples the Holy Spirit, his fellow being, the fellow-sharer of the father’s glory, and the Comforter. And they, having been filled with the Holy Spirit, preached to all the heathen, baptism of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and taught all men to keep his commandments. And this is the command and code of Jesus Christ. Purity of mind, holiness of soul, pity for the poor, love of neighbours, humanity towards brethren ; to eschew evil and follow the good, to do good to enemies ; fasting, and prayer, and pity for the poor ; not to fornicate, or rob, or slay, nor lie, nor bear false witness ; but to live in truth, love God and your neighbour sincerely ; to

honour father and mother; ponder the law of God, and abide in his commandments, be right in faith and good in works, holy-minded, pure in spirit, and single-hearted, and unflinching in love.

“This is the law of the faith of Christ. Know, O king, that the true God is Jesus Christ, son of the Holy Virgin Mary, crucified by the Jews. And his commandments are true and there is no other god but he.”

The Armenian Barlaam and Josaphat ends as follows :

And after that Josaphat spent in the wilderness thirty-five years. But when he withdrew from his kingdom he was twenty-five years old. And thus he lived a life pleasing to God and did not depart from the cave of Baralam until his death. But after his transition from this life, some of the neighbouring brethren of the desert [by intimation from the spirit] came and buried the [holy] body of Jovasaph, near to Baralam’s. And Bavakia the king, having heard [thereof], sent priests and monks ; and [having opened the tomb of the saint] they found the flesh of the blessed ones uncorrupted. And with great honour they took and carried them to India [as it was near, a journey of one day]. The king Bavakias [went out to meet them with all his magnates and a multitude of the common people]. [And as was befitting they brought him into his paternal kingdom, and laid him beside Abener the king.]

And to this day God worketh many wonders by the prayers of those [who are] of the land of India.

The which even I Asat, a sinful servant of God, with much labour and toil, and here and there¹ summarising it, translated into the Armenian tongue, by the help of an honourable prince. Wherefore by means of their self-denial and life of grace, the Holy Trinity is glorified, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and ever.

The Greek text of Barlaam and Josaphat was first printed in Boissonade’s *Anecdota*, Paris 1832; and his text is reprinted in Migne’s *Patrologia Græca*. Most of the Greek MSS. ascribe it to John of Damascus. Others name John the Monk, an honourable and virtuous member of the monastery of Mar Saba, near Jerusalem, as the person who brought this edifying history from the interior of the land of the Ethiopians, called the Indians. The Greek narrator professes to have gathered his narrative from the lips of respectable persons, who faithfully handed it on to him. But a few Greek MSS. (e.g. MS. 137 of the *Bibliotheca*

¹ Or, and making it little out of much by summarising it.

Naniana, of the eleventh century), as also a Paris MS., attest in the title that the history, so brought to the holy city by John the Monk, had been translated into Greek from the language of the Iberians by Euthymius, an honourable and pious Iberian.

Now of this Euthymius we know a good deal from native Iberian or Georgian sources. He died 1027, having been abbot of a convent on Mount Athos, where is still preserved his recension of the Georgian Bible in a MS. perhaps copied by him with his own hand.

Of the Greek text of Barlaam and Josaphat there is an Arabic translation, of which MSS. are found written as early as the 13th century. The Ethiopic version, according to Zotenberg, was made from this Arabic version.

But besides this Christian Arabic version, there is a very old non-Christian recension of the tale in the same language, which was translated early in the 13th century into Hebrew, under the title "Priest and Dervish." This Hebrew form Dr. Nathan Weisslovits and Professor Fritz Hommel have translated and compared with the Greek.¹ The first half of the Arabic text, on which the Hebrew is based, was first published by Hommel in the proceedings of the VIIth Oriental Congress at Vienna (Semit. Sect. pp. 115-165). Rehatzek has translated it into English in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (N.S. xxii., 119-155).

Now this non-Christian Arabic form differs in essential respects from the Greek. Firstly, all the Christian reflections and teachings which form the bulk of the Greek text are of course absent. But secondly, what is more important is this, that the apologues or parables follow one another in it in a different order from that in which they are given in the Greek. Thirdly, the text also of these apologetics presents in this Arabic form marked diversities from the Greek, as also the chronology of the lives of the ascetics.

¹ *Prinz und Derwisch.* München, 1890.

The problem of the immediate textual parentage of the Greek form seemed to have suddenly been solved, when in 1888 Professor Marr of the St. Petersburg University published, in the proceedings of the Russian Archaeological Society, several extracts from the old Georgian text itself, along with a general description of its nature and contents. This Georgian version must be of great age, for it is written in the good and pure idiom of the Georgian N.T. which belongs to the fifth century; though that it is later than the Georgian N.T., the citations therefrom imbedded in it prove.

Professor Hommel of München and Baron von Rosen, a Russian scholar, jumped to the conclusion that in this Georgian text we have the immediate parent of the Greek text, and that the notice found in two of the oldest Greek MSS.,—that Euthymius translated it from Georgian,—is actually true. But, as Kuhn in his elaborate monograph on Barlaam and Josaphat (published in München, 1894,) points out, this view is untenable. The attack on the iconoclasts, which the Greek text alone contains, belongs rather to the eighth century than to the last half of the tenth, in which Euthymius lived. The discovery also of such an early document as the *Apology* of Aristides imbedded in the Greek text obliges us to throw back its date as much as possible. Lastly, the circumstance that the order of the apologetics and the general outline of events in the Georgian disagrees with that of the Greek, and follows the non-Christian Arabic and Pehlevi tradition, makes in the highest degree improbable this supposition of Hommel and Baron von Rosen. It is likely,¹ I think, that the sentence in the Greek titles on which it is based were the addition of an Iberian copyist in a Greek monastery at Athos, who was familiar with the story in his own tongue. That Iberian monks often wrote out Greek books is likely enough, and

¹ Cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzant. Literatur*, p. 467.

the paging of old Greek MSS. is sometimes in Iberian letters. This is the case with the early eighth century paging of the new Sinaitic palimpsest of the Gospels lately found at Sinai by Mrs. Lewis, and in the Bodleian there is a ninth century codex of the Gospels, also paged with Iberian letters. This much only is certain, that the Georgian text gives us a very primitive form of the legend ; but, though a Christianised form, it cannot be a very direct ancestor of the Greek.

Now let us turn to the Armenian text. At first sight this appears to be nothing more than an abridgement of Boissonade's Greek text; especially as the Armenian translator asserts that he abridged his original. It has been accordingly set down by Kuhn and Zotenberg, who, however, had both of them a very slender knowledge of its contents, as a mere translation from the Greek. But I have now to point out many objections to this view.

Firstly, there occur in it purely Syriac words, like *kas-liath*, in the sense of *deficientia*. And the constant use of the participle for the finite verb is another indication that it was made from Syriac. Thus the existence of a Syriac form of the text, which Zotenberg¹ denies to have been likely or possible, seems to be proved.

Was then the Syriac, of which the Armenian is an abridged translation, itself a version from the Greek as we have it to-day? This is at the first glance improbable. The compilation of the Greek cannot be much earlier than 750. It is possible, but unlikely, that it would have been turned into Syriac and translated again into Armenian at so early a date as 950, much later than which date the Armenian cannot be.

Such reasoning is of course insecure. When, however, we observe that the Armenian, abridged though it be from a longer text, has yet many additions and peculiarities not

¹ *Notices et Extraits*, vol. 28, p. 79.

present in the Greek, yet found in the non-Christian Arabic and Hebrew, and even in the Georgian forms, then it becomes impossible to suppose that it is a mere abridgement of Boissonade's Greek text. Let us take some examples.

The Greek text of the apologue of the man pursued into a well or ditch begins as follows: "Those then who serve such a harsh and wicked master, severing themselves in their madness from goodness and kindness, and agape for present things and cleaving thereunto, never taking thought for the future, but pressing on unceasingly to bodily enjoyments, while they leave their souls to starve and famish and to be afflicted with a thousand ills, these I consider to be like unto a man fleeing from the presence of an infuriated unicorn," &c.

Now the Armenian has simply as follows:—"The life of this world is to be likened to a man fleeing from the presence of an unicorn;" and this is very close to the Georgian: "This worldly life is like to a man whom an elephant pursued," &c.

Then again in the Greek, the man in falling into the ditch stretched out his hands, and having caught hold of a certain *tree* (or plant) held it tightly. But the Armenian says he caught hold of the *branch* of a tree, *which grew on the edge of the pit?* How did the Armenian know (1) that it was a *branch* to which he clung, and (2) that the tree *grew on the edge of the pit*. We turn to the non-Christian Arabic and there we read that he hung on to two *branches* that *grew on its* (*i.e.* the well's) *margin*.

It may be noticed that the Christian Arabic, which Zoten-berg shows to be in the main a translation of Boissonade's Greek, also adds the words: "which grew on the margin or edge"; whence Weisslovits (*Prinz u. Derwisch*) infers that its translator knew of the earlier Arabic form and was influenced by it in making his translation. A simpler explanation would be that some older Greek text translated by the Christian Arab included these words, and that they have dropt out of our existing Greek texts. And this hypothesis

would equally explain their presence in the Armenian, if this were an isolated addition. But as we find many similar additions in the Armenian we must reject it. Here is another example from the parable of the four boxes. In the Greek we read that the king closed the caskets containing the stinking bones of dead animals with golden clasps, while he bound round the pitch-besmeared box with ropes of hair. That exactly this detail is omitted both by the Armenian and by the old Arabic and Hebrew forms of the apologue can be no accident, because another detail in the story, namely that when the golden boxes were opened the magnates fled from the horrible stench, is *omitted* in the Greek, whereas the Armenian and the old Arabic and Hebrew forms agree in retaining it.

Again, in the apologue of the hunter and the bird the Armenian relates, that when the hunter let it go, the sparrow flew away and *perched on a bough* and then began to soar in the air. Now in the Greek text nothing is said about the bird's perching on a bough (Rehatzek, p. 148); but in the old Arabic text we read: "Then he let go the bird, which *flew away and perched on a branch.*" It may also be noticed that in the Arabic and Armenian the bird is a sparrow, in the Greek a nightingale.

Again, early in the tale we read in the Greek that on the birthday festival of the newly-born heir there came together to the king about 50 picked men who had studied the star-gazing wisdom of the Chaldees. But the Armenian says: "he brought together 50 men who were astrologers and wise men." Here the Georgian also has: "He called together the multitude of *astrologers and of philosophers* and of magicians." In the old Arabic we read that the king "brought together the astrologers and the U'lama," which best reflects the Armenian. Like the Greek, the Armenian specifies that there were 50 of them, and then goes on to agree with the Arabic and Georgian in its description of them. One turns with curiosity to the speech of Nachovr in

the Armenian, because in the Greek form the whole *Apology* of Aristides is put into his mouth (Boisson. 241 ff). The Armenian certainly follows the Greek text of this *Apology* rather than the independent Syriac text of the *Apology* itself which Professor R. Harris discovered in Sinai. It of course curtails it to a tenth of its length; but it also adds some particulars not in the Greek, and presents some of the arguments in more methodical and *raisonné* manner. Here is an example of such addition.

"I pass by the (superstitions) of the Hellenes and of the Egyptians and of the Chaldaeans, who instead of the immortal God worshipped men and women, harlots and Sodomites, and all other kinds of evil doers; yea, and the rat and the weasel and all sorts of vermin."

Now the above is ultimately a translation of some Greek text which began *σιωπῶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. This rhetorical phrase does not occur in the Greek, yet it is a familiar one in early Christian apologies, and was certainly not inserted by the Armenian *de suo*.

Still less can the mention of the worship of rats and weasels be a mere addition by the Armenian translator; yet nothing of the kind is found in Boissonade's Greek. But in *The Preaching of Peter* we have reference to the folly of the Hellenes who worshipped weasels and mice (*γαλᾶς τε καὶ μῦς*).¹ It is noteworthy that Professor Armitage Robinson² has already pointed out that Aristides' *Apology* was largely based on this very *Preaching of Peter*, of which we have only a few fragments left.³ We must then suppose that the Armenian abridged his form of Barlaam and Josaphat from a text which not only included the *Apology* of Aristides,

¹ *Apud Clem. Al. Strom.*, vi. 39 ff

² *Apol. Aristides*, p. 87, ed. pr.

³ "Several passages of the Syriac version (of Aristides) which are wanting in the Greek, as we now have it, are authenticated by their similarity to portions of the *Preaching (of Peter)*." (Arm. Robinson in *Apol. of Aristides* ed. pr. p. 90.)

but included it in a more complete form than our existing Greek MSS. of Barlaam and Josaphat. The sections of the Armenian directed against the worship of water and of mere men also strike me as better put and arranged than the corresponding sections of the Greek text, though it must be owned that the latter, so far as it here varies from the Armenian, is in general endorsed by the Syriac form of the *Apology*, which is a document quite independent of the *Book of Barlaam and Josaphat*.

Now no single clue of this kind would be enough to establish the independence of the Armenian, and its priority to Boissonade's Greek text, in the eyes of anyone who considers how closely allied in general are these two forms of text, if contrasted with the non-Christian Arabic, and even with the Georgian. But an entire series of such clues occurring together forbids us to regard the Armenian as an abridgement of our existing Greek text. Yet abridgement of some text it certainly is, and of one very closely similar to Boissonade's Greek. This text we have seen was a Syriac one ; and in this Syriac text, now lost, we must perforce recognise an earlier stage of the text than Boissonade's Greek supplies. The Syriac was probably much shorter and less padded out with disquisitions on all points of Christian faith and morals. But in it the apologetics had already assumed the order in which they follow in the Armenian and Greek ; and it must have contained everything which the Greek and Armenian have in common. This Syriac text was, I am inclined to think, itself a translation of a Greek text, now lost, which was subsequently expanded into Boissonade's text. Boissonade's text was elaborated out of this earlier and shorter Greek form, by some one who freely expanded it and substituted everywhere for its simpler phrases the rhetorical flourishes of a later age. If this be a correct view, our existing Greek text of the *Apology* of Aristides must be regarded with some suspicion. Such an apology had already of course a place in

the shorter and earlier Greek text, which was rendered into Syriac and only survives in the Armenian abridgement. But who knows what changes this apology may not have undergone at the hands of the author of our existing Greek. The Armenian proves that some characteristic touches borrowed from *The Preaching of Peter* were obliterated when the earlier Greek was worked up into its existing form.

Till we have the complete Georgian text before us, it is rash to be too positive about its exact place in the development of the Christian form of the legend. But it is clear from Marr's account of it, as also from his printed excerpts which I have translated, that it had much in common with the simpler Armenian text. This is seen if we compare the forms of creed given in the Georgian and Armenian with the corresponding passage in the Greek (Boissonade, 83-84). In the old Arabic and Hebrew texts there is of course no corresponding passage, no counterpart at all. So a long extract from the Georgian about design in nature is closely similar to the Greek text, while the old Arabic form has barely the rudiments of the argument, which the Armenian omits altogether. Indeed, a careful comparison of the Greek and Georgian reveals that they have many points in common, which are absent from the old Arabic and Armenian, though this last fact has little significance, as the Armenian is a confessedly abridged text.

We must recognise, then, that already in the Georgian text, in spite of its comparative nearness to the non-Christian forms of the legend, evinced by its arrangement of matter and spelling of the proper names, the development of the latest Christian text as revealed in the Armenian and Greek has begun and even made fair progress. It cannot be regarded then as a Christianised form of the legend independent of the common parent of the Syrian, Armenian, and Greek texts, but must take its place far back in their common pedigree as the earliest stage of the Christian development of the tale. Next after it, *longo sed proximus*

intervallo, in the line of Christian tradition came an hypothetical Greek original of the lost Syriac text, of which our Armenian text is an abridgement. Of it the existing Greek text is a rhetorical expansion, made in the eighth century.

There is some ground for supposing that even the so-called non-Christian Arabic form translated by Rehatsek has been influenced by Christianity. For example, it contains the Christian apologue of the Sower, as well as a reference to the folly of worshipping idols which had to be locked up to prevent their being stolen. This last is a commonplace in early Greek apologies of monotheism, whether Jewish or Christian, and may very likely have had a place in *The Preaching of Peter*. But, however that may be, the evidence of the Georgian and Armenian texts proves that Boissonade's Greek text (*i.e.* the eighth century form of the story, commonly but wrongly ascribed to John of Damascus) is a very late development. I think there was once a simple and brief Christian and Greek form of the text, of which the Georgian is a translation either direct or indirect. This earliest Greek form probably originated in Bactria in the third century A.D., in circles in which the religions of Jesus and Buddha met and mingled. I cannot otherwise explain the fact that the Georgian is often a literal rendering of our Greek text. This earliest Greek form set the apologetics in the same order in which the Georgian and non-Christian Arabic has them; it followed the chronology of these texts, and, like the Georgian, had not yet the *Apology* of Aristides. For Professor Marr implies that the Georgian does not contain this apology.

The next stage in the growth of the Greek text was that which we have in the Armenian. In it the Greek nearly assumed its present form; the order of the apologetics was changed; and the *Apology* of Aristides, with other edificatory matter, was added. At this stage the Greek passed into Syriac, and thence into the Armenian abridgement.

The third and last stage of the Greek is that which remains to us in Boissonade's *Anecdoton*. In it new matter, like the attack on the iconoclasts, was added; and the *Apology* of Aristides lost in it some of the authentic touches which the Armenian representative of the earlier stage still echoed. The Christian Arabic is a version of this fully developed Greek form. So according to Zotenberg and Kuhn is the Ethiopic; though I do not myself feel sure that the Ethiopic will not be found to represent an earlier stage of the Greek. It is possible also that some of the Latin texts may preserve the older Greek forms. With a view to recovering the Aristides *Apology* in an authentic form, the Ethiopic and Latin texts of the story should be examined; and search made for the lost Syriac form so imperfectly represented by the Armenian. It is even certain that the Armenian text, as it survives to us in Arakhel's poem and in the Menologia, has been mutilated. For in the so-called *Geography of Vartan*, a work of about A.D. 1300, the Indian city of Sinavathan is mentioned as the seat of the kings of India, where Abener and Jovasaph dwelt. But the existing Armenian text has lost this detail.

FOLKLORE FIRSTFRUITS FROM LESBOS.

BY W. H. D. ROUSE, M.A.

(*Read at Meeting of 17th December, 1895.*)

The following notes were collected, partly from my own observation and questioning of muleteers and all sorts of odd people, partly from Mr. Stavros, schoolmaster of Kalloni, in Lesbos. I have to express my warm thanks to Mr. W. R. Paton for constant help while in the island. What I